The Revival of Church Principles

in

The Church of Scotland

by

James Cooper

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The Revival of Church Principles

IN

The Church of Scotland.

A PAPER

READ AT A MEETING OF THE
NORTH TEST VALLEY CLERICAL SOCIETY,
HELD AT ASHE RECTORY, HANTS,
JULY 1ST, 1895.

BY

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THE REVIVAL OF CHURCH PRINCIPLES IN THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

LET me begin by saying with what pleasure I respond to an invitation to address a Meeting of the Clergy of the Church of England—a branch of the Catholic Church, so illustrious for the saints and doctors it has yielded, and placed, in the providence of GOD, in a position to contribute so powerfully to the healing of His scattered and divided heritage; to which happy result I would fain hope that the Scottish Movement, whereof I am to speak, may also, under GOD, be permitted in its measure to conduce.

One further word of more personal premise. I was never so far south in England before. Would you allow me to say what a pleasure it is to me to find myself among the Clergy of the diocese in which Keble held a cure, and Ken a canonry, and which was ruled of old by Andrewes and by William of Wykeham?

It is somewhat singular that far as is this diocese from the province in which I was born, on the southern shores of the Moray Firth, there was in old times a connexion between them which has left its traces there to the present day. One of the most distinguished of the Bishops of Moray was John of Winchester. He had been chaplain to our poet-king, James I., during his captivity in England under Henry IV. James, on his release, took him north along with him, and had him made Bishop of Moray. His retainers assumed his name, and their descendants, who still bear it, are to be found in Elgin, the Cathedral-city of Moray, to the present day.

The subject on which I have been asked to speak is: "The "Revival of Church Principles in the Church of Scotland."

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Some of you, perhaps, knowing that the Church of Scotland is Presbyterian in its government, may perhaps doubt whether there can be any soil in such a communion in which Church principles can take root or find nourishment. It must be remembered, however, to begin with, that the aim of Scottish Presbyterians, even those who held most strongly the Presbyterian position, was never to make a new Church (as the Independents wanted), but thoroughly to reform an old one. In contradistinction to all the sectaries, they held that Baptism and Ordination had been valid all through the days of the Roman usurpation. Consistently with this view, the name which alone we recognize is simply "The Church of Scotland,"[1] without any addition thereto. Our Church looks back, no doubt, to its Reformation in 1560 (for the Reformation came in Scotland like a thunder-clap, and can be dated) as an event that cost us many things which we would now willingly reclaim, and are reclaiming; yet that brought to us deliverance from deep corruption and intolerable tyranny. Bishop A. P. Forbes used to say that no Church in Europe, except perhaps that of Sweden, was more corrupt than the Church of Scotland before the Reformation. But the Church of Scotland does not call herself "The *Reformed* Church of Scotland."[2] Again, it owns that Presbyterian form of Church government which, in compliance with the Claim of Right of the National Convention of 1689, was established in it by law in 1690; and which, whether actually desired or not by a real majority of the Church or nation at that time,[3] has certainly won the acceptance

[1] *Kirk* is just Scotch for Church.

[2] A sect of seceding Covenanters calls itself "The Reformed Presbyterian Church of Scotland."

[3] See Cunningham's *Church History of Scotland*, Ch. xxi. "The Viscount Tarbet, "in a memorial relating to Church affairs laid before the Government (1689), re- "marked that Episcopacy was odious to one part of the nation, Presbytery to the "other: that the Episcopalians were the more numerous and powerful, the Pres- "byterians the more zealous and hot; that the Parliament contained a majority of "Presbyterians by the new mode of election pursued in burghs, but that the majority "of the nobility and barons were for Episcopacy. . . . The Episcopal Clergy of the "Diocese of Aberdeen . . . laid before the Estates an address, begging that a "General Assembly should be called to determine the Church's polity. The Royal "Commissioner was thought to favour this plan; but the Earl of Crawford and the "staunch Presbyterians cried out against it. The Conformist Clergy would outvote

since then of the great mass of the baptized in Scotland. But it has never called itself "The *Presbyterian* Church of Scotland." It has all along called itself simply by the name which the main body of the baptized in Scotland have borne, at any rate since 878, *Ecclesia Scoticana*—the Church of Scotland. Long before *Magna Charta* made a similar declaration in regard to the Church of England, our King Grig, or Gregory, conceded that the Church of Scotland should be free. All through the mediæval period the same name was in use, as may be seen from the title of Joseph Robertson's great collection: "*Concilia Scotiæ, Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ* "*Statuta, tam Provincialia quam Synodalia, quæ supersunt*, 1225–1559." The last important document of its pre-Reformation stage, the Catechism of 1551, bears on its title-page that it was "set furth "be the maist reverend father in God John Archbishop of sanct "Andrews Legatnait and primate of the *Kirk of Scotland*." "The "Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland" is the title of "the "earliest record of her post-Reformation days."

And so through all changes in the long centuries before we had diocesan bishops; in the centuries during which we yielded a precarious allegiance to the Roman Pontiff; at the Reformation; when, fifty years after, our titular bishops received canonical consecration from England; after the prelates of that time had been deposed, in 1638; when a new line of bishops came in at the Restoration; and again when that line were deprived after the Revolution; and through the two centuries of Presbyterian polity since then, we have maintained our historic continuity, and have known ourselves by no name save that which describes us as *part* of the one Kingdom and Body of the Lord Jesus Christ, and as *that* part of it which He commissioned to our rugged land and the strong-willed people who inhabit it.

We changed much at the Reformation. Few will deny that of those changes some were reckless. But even before that date the Scottish Church had marked peculiarities. I remember rebuking

"the Nonconformists by six to one, and a species of Episcopacy would again be "established."

See also Rev. J. B. Craven's History of the Church in the Dioceses of Ross and Caithness.

a brother minister who had quoted, as I told him, "rather with "pride than penitence," the saying of one of our mediæval chroniclers that "the Church of Scotland always loved a way of its ain."

We have deferred too much to the inclinations of the Scottish people: we have deferred too little to that *custom of the Churches of God*,[1] whereby S. Paul curbed the vagaries of the Church of Corinth. "Independency on a national scale" is surely one way of violating Catholic unity; yet on the other hand, the Pentecostal power to tell the people of each various nation *in their own tongue the wonderful works of God*,[2] implies that permission which in her Thirty-fourth Article the Church of England claims not for herself alone but for every national branch of the Church Catholic. "Every particular or national Church hath authority to ordain, "change, and abolish ceremonies or rites of the Church ordained "only by man's authority, so that all things be done to edifying."

We grant at once that the Church of Scotland pushed this liberty to its utmost limits; and we are becoming (I think) more and more open to conviction as to what really constitutes the *bene esse* of the Church, and conduces in the long run to her edification and unity. But in regard to the chief change which was made in Scotland at the Reformation, and re-made twice since then—I refer, of course, to the abolition of Episcopacy—there are several pleas that we can tender which ought, in fairness, to be considered ere judgment is given against us. In the first place it must be borne in mind that the common, indeed I might say the accepted, teaching of the Schools at that time was that *bishop* and *presbyter* were not two separate orders, but *two grades in one order*, and that the distinction between them, however important or convenient, was *not of Divine* authority, but one of those things of man's making which might, in certain circumstances, be set aside. It may be that this doctrine, which is that of the Council of Trent, and of a succession since then of great Roman canonists, has commended itself to Romanists as capable of being turned to the advantage of the Papacy; and no doubt it was as much against them as against the Presbyterian Nonconformists of England, that Laud and his

[1] 1 Cor. xi. 16. [2] Acts ii. 11.

school pressed their view—which they may have learned from the Greek Church—that the Episcopate is a separate *order*. But divines who were not Romanists held that bishops and priests were really one, and the distinction between them ecclesiastical simply. In this opinion our Scottish Reformers had been reared; and even were we to grant that the opinion is mistaken, the action which they took upon it was yet honest. They had no intention of dispensing with an ordinance of GOD. Moreover, they had been taught by the Scottish historians then in repute, especially by John of Fordun, a Scottish priest of pre-Reformation days, that the Scottish Church in its earliest and purest period had, in "the long "time (previous to the arrival of S. Palladius (430), whom Pope "Celestine sent to the Scots believing in CHRIST as their first "bishop,) as their teachers of the Faith and administrators of the "Sacraments priests only, or monks, following the rite of the "primitive Church."[1] Fordun's history, we now know, was wrong; but, at the time of the Reformation and before it, he was the accepted authority, and no moral blame can attach to our Reformers if they were misled by him. That his influence was strong with them, and that in other matters also besides Episcopacy the Scottish Reformers followed what they believed to be the precedents of the Scottish Church is certain. The General Assembly itself, the most potent and characteristic of our ecclesiastical institutions, was directly modelled upon the National Councils of the Church which had been regularly held through the three preceding centuries, and were presided over, not by a metropolitan (for the Scottish Church had none till after 1450), but by a bishop chosen by the meeting. His title, "Conservator," is really the same as that worn by the clergyman who presides over each in our hierarchy of courts, the "Moderator."

Then, as is stated in the well-known words of the Act of the Revolution Settlement, our Church "was reformed from Popery "by presbyters." Your Reformation in England was guided by men who, whatever their faults, were yet by their place in the Church and realm, as well as by their personal learning and ability,

[1] Ford. *Chron.* iii. 8.

the natural leaders of the movement. There was no king at that time in our Scottish Israel: we had no prelates to compare with Cranmer or Latimer. The primate, Hamilton, was not only the tool of a discredited political faction, but he was so notoriously afflicted with the consequences of his own licentiousness that Queen Mary would not allow him at her son's baptism to breathe upon or kiss the infant. The Archbishop of Glasgow was a good man, but he departed at once to France. Four of the bishops (Bothwell of Orkney, Carsewell of the Isles, Hamilton of Argyll, and Stewart of Caithness) embraced the Reformation; but they were utterly insignificant, and took no steps to perpetuate a reformed Episcopate. Some of the others—like Patrick Hepburn of Moray, a hoary reprobate, who boasted of having thirteen concubines, seven of whom were wedded to other men, and who got letters under the great seal legitimizing ten of his bastard sons; and Gordon of Aberdeen (who just upon the Reformation, when it was clear that something must be done, called together his dean and chapter, bade them put away their concubines, and received for answer that they would do it, if he would shew the way)—retained their palaces and their seats in Parliament, dilapidated their revenues, and did no clerical work at all, except that we find them on occasions giving legal institution to the reformed clergy. They were the real cause of the excesses of our Reformation: they did nothing to stem these excesses. They did not care what became of the Church. Nor did they consecrate any Roman Catholic successors to themselves; and the present Roman Catholic hierarchy in Scotland makes no pretence to a national succession. With us, as with you, its clergy are simply a Roman mission. Surely, if there were any circumstances where presbyters *had to* act, they were those of Scotland in 1560.

Our Reformers had no theoretical objection as yet to Episcopacy *per se*. In 1552, John Knox, then one of the royal chaplains of Edward VI., had been offered the Bishopric of Rochester, and had refused it, not, he tells us, from any objection to Episcopacy as a form of Church government, but because he was unwilling to accept even the modified formulas of the Church of England, and *foresaw the troubles likely to ensue on the death of Edward VI.*

It was not till a later period that the *theory* of Presbyterianism was introduced into our Church by Andrew Melville, whose chief title to our enduring respect and gratitude is his firmness against Erastianism. Our Church, I think, has never declared in set terms that Prelacy is unlawful or contrary to Scripture. The Act of 1690 speaks of it only as "a great and insupportable grievance "and trouble to this nation, and contrary to the inclinations of the "generality of the people ever since the Reformation, it having "been reformed from Popery by presbyters."

The hated Regent Morton it was who first taught the generality of the people after the Reformation that dislike. He was the inventor of *Tulchan* bishops (a *tulchan* is a calf's-skin, stuffed with straw, put to an "ill-willy" cow, to induce her to give her milk). The tulchan bishops were titulars of the vacant sees, put there in order to draw, in legal form, the episcopal income and pass it on to the avaricious Regent. "My lord's bishop" was not a device to recommend the office to a people at once serious and poor.

Unfortunately when, under James VI. (and I.), in 1610, the bishops received canonical consecration, though there were some most excellent men among them—Archbishop Spottiswood, Bishop Patrick Forbes, Bishop William Forbes, Bishop Maxwell, Bishop Cowper—and though they did much admirable work in promoting alike pastoral care and theological learning, they were far too servile to the Court. Their fall was due to their allowing without protest the introduction by King Charles I. and Archbishop Laud of a Book of Canons and a Service Book; the latter good in itself, but both of them entirely new to Scotland, and brought in by the sole authority of the king, without asking the consent of the constituted authorities of either Church or State. "It made the King "our Pope."

The Scottish hierarchy was restored in 1662, contrary to the sense (as understood in Scotland) of a solemn promise by Charles II. This line of prelates also was adorned by some good names, among which that of the saintly Leighton stands pre-eminent; but it was hopelessly discredited, first, by the unblushing treachery of the Primate Sharp ("Sharp of that ilk," as Cromwell

called him), and then by the committal of the bishops to the cruel persecution of the out-lawed Covenanters. The mischief did not end there: the bishops were so committed to King James that they could not for very shame take the oaths of allegiance to William and Mary. The new sovereigns would have maintained Episcopacy had the bishops acknowledged them—but when they all failed to do so, they had no course left them but to accede to request of the Convention which had given them the Scottish crown, and abolish prelacy. Again, we may be allowed to plead that if we rejected Diocesan Episcopacy it was not altogether the Church's fault. A recent writer, whose claim to be heard on this subject is of the very highest, admits that never since the Reformation had Episcopacy a fair chance in the Church as by law established.[1]

But how about *Ordination*, if the Episcopate thus, three times over, fell into abeyance? It is sometimes said that we lost even a succession through presbyters. Two statements of our Reformation formularies have been supposed to support that opinion. In the First Book of Discipline (1560), "the laying on of hands" is judged not necessary "to the institution of the ministry." But there is reason to think that what is there referred to is the re-ordination of men who had been priests under Popery; and there is no evidence that in any case the rite was actually dispensed with. In 1571, Erskine of Dun, the only one of the new superintendents whose regular ordination is doubtful, speaks of the imposition of hands as an apostolic institution used in his day at the admission of ministers; and it is believed that by that time he had himself received it.[2] Moreover, the rite was formally restored by the Assembly of 1578, under the name of "the imposition of the "hands of the Eldership" (i.e., the *Presbyterate*), before death had materially thinned the ranks of those ordained in pre-Reformation days. The second statement supposed to impugn the doctrine of Ordination is one which says that "a Church standeth not by lineal "succession." But the Latin version has "a lineal succession "through prelates;" so that the passage does not touch a succes-

[1] The Rev. Cosmo G. Lang, Vicar of S. Mary's, Oxford, see his able paper read at Aberdeen, 1894.

[2] Sprott in *Scottish Church Society Conference*, First Series, p. 165.

sion through presbyters.[1] Bishop Patrick Forbes, writing before 1620, says that it was impudent to deny that our clergy were lawfully ordained! Certainly their ordination was accepted as valid at the time by the Church of England. The Scottish Church had no canonical bishops (nor was there any community in Scotland that had) when it was ordered to be prayed for by the Canons of 1604; and Archbishop Grindal, licensing a Scots minister, in the only orders then to be had in Scotland, to celebrate Divine offices and minister the Sacraments throughout the Province of Canterbury uses, in reference to his ordination, the words, "*Juxta laudabilem Ecclesiæ Scotiæ reformatæ "formam et ritum.*"

That in such a period of confusion there were irregularities may not be doubted. But these irregularities were corrected after the Scottish bishops received canonical consecration in 1610; that line of bishops continued for twenty-seven years, and must have ordained the majority (at least) which in every presbytery transmitted the gift after 1637. Since then no break in the chain can be alleged. Nor was the intention to make men presbyters wanting; while among the Scriptures cited as to the nature of the office is that text in Isaiah: "*I will also take of them for priests and for Levites, "saith the Lord.*"[2] I have heard people say of a faithful minister, "He was a good priest." And the *doctrine* of succession, though sometimes denied (as Apostolical Succession has been among you in England), has over and over again been solemnly affirmed by the Church.

It is needful to insist on this, for much ignorance seems to prevail upon the subject. Only this month I read in the columns of one of your Church newspapers that "the theory of an "Apostolical Succession through the laying on of the hands of the "presbyterate was an after-thought, and the practice was not "introduced till 1630." Both parts of this statement are misstatements. In 1630 there was no Presbyterian Church in Scotland —the only Church government in the country was Episcopal, and had been for twenty years. Nothing happened in that year different

[1] Sprott in *Scottish Church Society Conference*, First Series, p. 177.

[2] Isaiah lxvi. 21.

from what had been previously going on. It is true, however, that all along, under Episcopacy and Presbytery alike, down till 1690; it was held in Scotland that the bishop ordained *quasi* presbyter. Episcopacy was never in those days in Scotland believed to be necessary, *jure Divino*. None of the bishops consecrated in 1610 (not even those consecrated in England), though all were in Presbyterian orders, were re-ordained, and this with the consent, at last, and co-operation of Andrewes: nor did these bishops re-ordain any of the clergy. In 1662 those of the prelates consecrated in *England*, who had not been episcopally ordained to the presbyterate, were privately re-ordained, but this course was not followed in the consecrations which took place in Scotland; and as a matter of fact, the present orders of the Scottish Episcopal Church, so far as they are inherited from the Scottish hierarchy of 1662–1690, are derived from men who having been ordained presbyters in a time of Presbytery (between 1638–1662, when there was not a bishop in all Scotland), served for years under the restored bishops without re-ordination, and then were consecrated bishops in circumstances which utterly forbid the *per saltum* theory.[1]

It was natural that after 1690 the Scottish Non-jurors should magnify the value of Episcopacy; but they should remember what an Archbishop of Canterbury is said to have described as the "Presbyterian flavour" of their own descent.

We in the National Church believe that though that "flavour" were much stronger than it is, their ministry would not be invalidated. We hold that however justly a succession through presbyters, may lie exposed to the charge of "irregularity" as being, for one thing, an extreme departure from the practice of the vastly greater part of the Catholic Church, yet the Divine commission is conveyed, and the ministry is a lawful one. We are quite open,

[1] The Episcopal succession was carried on in Scotland after the Revolution by Archbishop Paterson, the (deprived) Archbishop of Glasgow; Bishop Rose, of Edinburgh; and Bishop Robert Douglas, of Dunblane, who, in 1705, consecrated John Sage and John Fullarton bishops, but without committing any special diocese to their rule. Of these, Paterson had been ordained at Ellon, in 1660, and Douglas at Laurencekirk, before January, 1657, by their respective presbyteries at a time when there was not a bishop in all Scotland. Neither was ever episcopally ordained. Paterson and Douglas were both consecrated bishops in 1675.

however, to the pleas that Episcopacy makes for unity, and that an acceptance of the Historic Episcopate is an essential condition of Catholic reunion.

Then as to doctrine. The Apostles' Creed has always been accepted by us. It was our Baptismal Creed, till the Long Parliament (which was not a Scottish body) procured its suppression. It still forms part of our Catechism whenever that is printed without mutilation. In regard to the two other Creeds, so venerated a Presbyterian confessor as Samuel Rutherford defines a confession *de jure* to be "what every one ought to believe, as the Nicene "Creed, and the Creed of S. Athanasius."

And all along our confessional language on the Sacraments has been distinctly high. "We utterly condemn," says our First (Reformed) Confession, "the vanity of those that affirm Sacra-"ments to be nothing else but naked and bare signs. No; we "assuredly believe that by baptism we are ingrafted in CHRIST "JESUS to be made partakers of His justice whereby our sins are "covered and remitted; and also that in the Supper rightly used "CHRIST JESUS is so joined with us that He becometh very "Nourishment and Food of our souls. . . . This union and con-"junction which we have with the Body and Blood of CHRIST "JESUS in the right use of the Sacraments wrought by the opera-"tion of the HOLY GHOST, Who by true faith carrieth us above all "things which are visible, carnal, and earthly, and maketh us to "feed upon the Body and Blood of CHRIST JESUS which was once "broken and shed for us, which now is in heaven and appeareth "in the presence of His FATHER for us; and yet, notwithstanding "the far distance that is between His Body now glorified in "heaven, and us now mortal on this earth; yet we most assuredly "believe that the bread which we break is the Communion of His "Body and the Cup of blessing which we bless the Communion of "His Blood. So that we confess and undoubtedly believe that "the faithful in the right use of the LORD'S Supper do so eat the "Body and drink the Blood of the LORD JESUS that He remaineth "in them and they in Him; yea, they are so made flesh of His "Flesh and bone of His Bones that as the Eternal Godhead hath "given to the Flesh of CHRIST JESUS . . . life and immortality,

"so His Flesh and Blood eaten and drunken by us, give unto us "the same prerogatives."[1]

We received the Westminster Confession and Catechisms expressly on the ground that they were agreeable to this older Confession[2]; and on the Sacraments certainly they leave little to be desired. As an old Aberdeenshire minister used to say: "The "Shorter Catechism is very high on the subject of the Sacra- "ments: indeed, I know nothing higher, except the language of "Holy Scripture itself!"

Zwinglianism has abounded, and still abounds, among us; but it is far more in words than in feelings; and among our common people it is always unacceptable. Even in the last century, Willison and Boston, two of our so-called Evangelical divines, used language about the Eucharist which might have come from the lips of a French Jesuit; and even the "Paraphrases" which represent the piety and culture of the Moderates, contain the following verses on Holy Baptism:—

"When to the sacred font we came
"Did not the rite proclaim
"That, washed from sin and all its stains,
"New creatures we became.

"With CHRIST the LORD we died to sin,
"With Him to life we rise,
"To life which now begun on earth,
"Is perfect in the skies."[3]

The hard Calvinism with which you are familiar among dissenting sects in England, though it might find some support in her standards, has long been unknown in our national Church. I never heard it preached in my life. Its spell was broken in the

[1] *Confession of Faith of the Church of Scotland*, exhibited to the Estates of Scotland in Parliament, 1560, and ratified by Act of Parliament, 1567. Art. XXI.

[2] Act of General Assembly at Edinburgh, Aug. 27, 1647, Session 23: Approving the *(Westminster Confession of Faith)*—"The said Confession being, upon due "examination thereof, found by the Assembly to be most agreeable to the Word of "GOD, and in nothing contrary to the received doctrine, worship, discipline, and "government of this Kirk."

[3] Paraphrase xlvii. (A metrical paraphrase of Romans vi. 1–7).

middle of the last century by the teaching of the Moderates,[1] which, however defective on other points, was mild and humane on these. At a period nearer our own day, the work which the Moderates began was completed by means at once more spiritual and more effectual, through the Evangelical revival and the writings of such men as John McLeod Campbell.

You see there was some soil, after all, in the Church of Scotland in which a Catholic Movement might find nourishment. Indeed we have a *catena* of divines all through who might justly be described as High Churchmen. There has always been a root of Catholic feeling, as well as of Catholic doctrine, among us; and if it is now springing up with considerable vigour, it is because it was there before. I need only remind you that Sir Walter Scott was brought up in the bosom of our Established Church; and though he became an Episcopalian, he never lost his love for his spiritual mother. He was a lay-elder of the Kirk; and he continued occasionally to act as such.

I come to the more recent stages of the movement in our Church. A variety of causes concurred to quicken it. The earnest Evangelical teaching of Robert Murray McCheyne, Edward Irving, John McLeod Campbell, and, in later times, of the Bonars, Dr. Islay Burns, Dr. Hanna, and Dr. Norman Macleod, deepened the thought of responsibility to CHRIST in the personal and in the congregational life. It was impossible either that we should escape the influence of what was going on in England; intercourse between the two kingdoms was continually increasing. The study of our own ecclesiastical history was another factor: Baird's book on Scottish Liturgies set many a-thinking on the subject of Public Worship, and directed them to a course of reading and an accumulation of devotional material which was ere long to prove serviceable. May we not trace it all to that revival of intercession with which GOD in this century has blessed the Catholic Church? *There shall be showers of blessing:*[2] they fell on all, because all the

[1] An amusing illustration of their feeling is the story of the Aberdeenshire minister who declared, "I never liked Paul: he's ower Calvinistic for me." Matthew Arnold had not yet shewn to what an extent Calvinism of this sort had been *read into* the Apostle.

[2] Ezekiel xxxiv. 26.

baptized—however grievous and unhappy our divisions—are *one Body in* CHRIST.

About forty years ago, when the Church of Scotland was beginning to recover from the staggering blow of the great Secession of 1843 (when "the Free Church" was formed), events occurred which, if they confused for a time two radically divergent tendencies, yet brought the question of Public Worship very prominently before the minds of Scotsmen. An eminent Edinburgh minister, Dr. Robert Lee—a Moderate in doctrine, an Erastian in Church politics—startled the Church by "innovations" in Old Greyfriars Church. He introduced an organ, and a Service Book: he placed the lectern and pulpit at different ends of a quasi-chancel, and had his assistant to read the lessons. These "innovations" made a tremendous sensation. Proceedings were instituted against the innovator; and though he had the better of his adversaries in argument, and opened the door to instrumental music in all our churches, he would probably have been deposed had he not died. It is but fair to add that one potent cause of the opposition he encountered was the suspicion of Socinianizing, which clung to him and to his congregation. But the most eminent of his supporters in the General Assembly, Dr. Bisset, was an old High Churchman. Amid these discussions, about the year 1867, the *Church Service Society* was founded for the study of the Ancient Liturgies and the preparation of Offices for Public Worship suitable for use amongst us. The formation of this Society was suggested in a pamphlet by Dr. Sprott. Acting on this, Mr. George Campbell, minister of Eastwood, called together a few Glasgow clergymen, and the Society was constituted. The chief early contributors—the late Principal P. C. Campbell, of Aberdeen, Dr. Sprott, and Mr. Campbell—were all High Churchmen; but though Dr. Lee looked askance, the younger men of his school—Broad Churchmen of the older type—Principal Tulloch, and Dr. Story not only joined it, but (the latter especially) took a principal share in its formation. This Society has published an important work, "Euchologion," or "A Book of Common Order," which is extensively used among our clergy. It has passed through many editions, the variations in which show on the whole a decided

progress of tone. If the language at times is somewhat stiff, the book has done much to improve our Service, and has contributed not a little to the cause of Orthodoxy. It provides forms—sufficient at least, in the sense of being valid, for the ends designed, however far from approaching an ideal—for the Administration of Baptism, the Celebration of the Eucharist, the Solemnization of Marriage, the Burial of the Dead, and the Ordination of Presbyters. Under its influence, too, the systematic reading of Holy Scripture, and Marriage in Church (which, though prescribed in our old *Directory*, had fallen into disuse) have been widely revived, while the observance of the chief Festivals of the Christian Year and the use of a Burial Service at the grave have come into use and popularity. The Society has issued also an excellent "Order of Divine Service for Children" and a Daily Service Book, in which are incorporated many old Celtic collects.[1] It appears to many of us now that this Society is not likely to do much more; and that it is paralysed by the spirit of compromise arising out of the composition of its managing body. But the tone of its publications on the whole is fair and good. The late Principal Tulloch, although a Broad Churchman, was mainly instrumental in procuring the insertion of the Nicene Creed.[2] The Service Book in use in S. Giles' Cathedral, Edinburgh (which has been restored), is a work of the distinguised minister of that church; it is issued purely on his personal authority, and cannot be accepted as representative of the progress among us of liturgical knowledge.[3]

As your High Churchmen can appeal to much in the early days of your Reformation against later aberrations, so can we point to several things in the period before our reformed national uses were marred by the fruits of the treasonable and unhappy alliance[4]

[1] These works are all published by Messrs. Wm. Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh; and deserve the attention of all who desire to understand the Church of Scotland as she appears to herself.

[2] Others, like Dr. Macleod of Govan, had previously urged this.

[3] A more recent work, and one of very considerable interest, is the Rev. H. J. Wotherspoon's *Divine Liturgy* (James Maclehose & Sons, Glasgow, 1893).

[4] Scott's account of it in the opening chapters of the *Legend of Montrose* is worth consulting.

which the Scots made with English Puritans at the beginning of the Great Rebellion. After the Reformation we used for a while the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI. Then we had Knox's Liturgy, which was read in S. Giles' Cathedral, Edinburgh, with universal acceptance, on the morning of the day when "Laud's Liturgy" (1637) was introduced by the King's order and rejected so decisively by the people. The result of the attempt to force the new Liturgy led to there being no Service Book in use in Scotland at all under either Presbytery or Episcopacy.[1] Ten years later, the Westminster *Directory* was adopted by the General Assembly. Even in it there is much that is excellent. For one thing, it enjoins that Invocation of the Holy Ghost at the consecration of the Eucharist which, at least in express words, is at present wanting in the Book of Common Prayer. The Scotch had always pleaded for this; and Archbishop Laud when he inserted it in the Scottish Book of 1637 was deferring at once to their desire, to his own sense of liturgical propriety, and to the use of the Ancient Church. We had, moreover, for long, a strong custom—"our traditional Liturgy" it was sometimes called—which amid much that was objectionable, could be dignified and impressive; and it was when this also began to fail us (as all traditions in the present day are breaking down) that we began to find once more the advantage of a book, for the retention of the good parts of our own practice, as well as for the enriching of it.

The books I have referred to, though all in use, have none of them been "approved" by public authority. It would be a serious matter for the Assembly to commit itself to a Liturgy that was not thoroughly good; and it is better to wait for the growth of such than to invoke a premature decision.

But in the matter of Psalmody and Hymnody, the Assembly has moved to good effect. Instrumental music has been allowed for well-nigh thirty years, and in the Lowlands it is now all but universal. The General Assembly, led in this matter by Dr.

[1] Archbishop Sharp set his face against all attempts to restore a liturgy in his time. After the Revolution, the Episcopalians, now disestablished, gradually introduced the Book of Common Prayer in their congregations; but it was not till 1754 that their present *Scottish Communion Office* took its final shape.

A. K. H. Boyd, has authorized an excellent Hymnal, sound (on the whole) in doctrine, and arranged of set purpose to suit the successive seasons of the sacred year. The Assembly has issued also a Prose Psalter which is steadily coming into use. It has given us back (in the Hymnal) *Benedictus*, *Magnificat*, *Nunc dimittis*, *Te Deum laudamus*, and *Gloria in Excelsis:* in the Prose Psalter, *Benedicite omnia opera*, and *Vere dignum*, and (in the Anthem Book) the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds, which accordingly are sung regularly in some of our larger churches.

Daily Service, which was continued in Scotland till the "Troubles" of the Great Rebellion, was revived in 1881 at Aberdeen, and is in use in S. Giles' and S. Cuthbert's, Edinburgh; the Barony and Govan, Glasgow; and S. Margaret's, Broughty Ferry.

Holy Communion had come to be celebrated only once or twice yearly; quarterly Celebrations are now common: in some churches monthly, or more than monthly. The desire, one hopes, is growing for greater frequency; and Communion is once more (quite freely) given to the sick. I do it generally immediately after a Celebration in church, as was done in Aberdeen, in the reign of Charles I., by my illustrious predecessor, Bishop William Forbes, author of the *Considerationes Modestæ:* the record of his practice remains in the minutes of our Kirk Session, and that fact helped me to reintroduce this method.

There has been a corresponding improvement in the architecture and arrangement of our churches. Very frequently the pulpit, formerly the only prominent thing in the church, is set to one side, and the Holy Table has the place of honour. The adoption of this plan in the new Church of Crathie, the parish in which Balmoral Castle is situated, means, that it is not regarded as "the badge of a party," and is likely, I think, to be followed all over Scotland; and (however æsthetic considerations may have contributed to this result) a restored perception of the supremacy in Christian Worship, and among the means of grace, of the Holy Eucharist has also had its influence. We have now in Scotland two Ecclesiological Societies, one at Aberdeen (founded in 1886, and now numbering about 300 members) and one at

Glasgow.[1] In both the study of the Principles of Christian Worship is associated with that of "the arts which minister thereto."

These various agencies had been for some time in operation, when, in 1892, a number of us who had been led to hold common opinions felt that the time had come to organize ourselves for the clearer and more effective assertion and diffusion in our Church of those principles which we regarded as not only Divinely true, but essential to the strength and vigour of the Church's work. The result was that, after a series of preliminary meetings, the *Scottish Church Society* was founded, with the late revered Professor Milligan as President. Among those who joined to form it was another ex-Moderator of the General Assembly, Dr. A. K. H. Boyd; Dr. Sprott and Dr. Leishman, scholars of repute in the field of Church history, especially in the post-Reformation period; and among the parish clergy, Dr. John Macleod of Govan, Mr. Wallace Williamson of Edinburgh, Mr. Crawford of Abercorn, Mr. Kirkpatrick of Dalbeattie, Mr. Henry Wotherspoon, his brother Mr. Arthur Wotherspoon, and others—mostly, it is worth noting, sons of ministers. I have been Secretary to the Society from the beginning.

The Society was constituted at the spur of two dangers which to us seemed not only serious but pressing.

On the one hand, the new "Broad Churchism," of which there is a great deal in Scotland, though not perhaps a very great deal of it among the clergy of the National Church, is much more negative than its predecessor. Orthodox Presbyterians have a special reminder of their need to be watchful in this matter; for though (as a former diocesan of your own, Bishop Harold Browne, acknowledges) the Church of Scotland has been clear in this matter, yet we cannot forget the many painful defections from the Faith which mark the history of Presbyterian communities. Before our eyes, the Free Church, which left us in 1843, loud at that time in its denunciations of heresy, many of its ministers distinctly "High Church" (in some things), has been rapidly pass-

[1] The Secretary of the Glasgow Ecclesiological Society, the Rev. John Charleson, Thornlicbank, deserves special mention in connection with this work.

ing through the stages of a lax Evangelicalism and an extreme Broad Churchism, and is now, alas! exhibiting too evident signs of incipient Unitarianizing. And as I have said, among ourselves some of our older and sounder traditions seemed to be giving way.

In general society, also, there is a great deal of that dislike to everything supernatural which is so marked a feature of the age. In Scotland, as elsewhere, "a great wave of mere humanism" (as Dr. Milligan expressed it) is passing over our heads—"a merely "human Redeemer, a merely human salvation, a merely human "Sanctifier, and at last the grave, the final resting-place both for "the body and the soul." We felt that a call lay upon us as the National Church—commissioned of GOD to every parish of the land, and every member of the nation—to witness, as clearly and loudly as we could, to the fundamental facts of the Gospel. We knew full well the inability of modern Evangelicalism, with its defective scheme of doctrine, its lack of backbone, and its merely subjective standards by which to try the relative importance of revealed truths, to cope with a danger so acute and formidable. We felt, moreover, that under a merely Presbyterian union (a place in which was the one future the dominant men in our Assembly were setting before our Church) the Faith itself, even in its most fundamental verities like the Trinity and the Incarnation, would be in peril; while those of us who held the entire circle of Catholic doctrine might be placed, notwithstanding the support afforded us by the Confession of Faith and the two Catechisms, in a position at once of suspicion and of insecurity.

The first purpose, then, for which the Scottish Church Society was constituted, was doctrinal—"To defend and advance Catholic "doctrine, as set forth in the Ancient Creeds, and embodied in the "Standards of the Church of Scotland."

Under this head, among "the special objects to be aimed at" we enumerated—

(1) "The consistent affirmation of the Divine basis, supernatural "life, and Heavenly calling of the Church.

(2) "The fostering of a due sense of the historic continuity of the "Church from the first.

(3) "The maintaining of the necessity of a valid Ordination to "the Holy Ministry, and the celebration in a befitting manner of "the rite of Ordination.

(4) "The assertion of the efficacy of the Sacraments.

(5) "The promotion of the religious education and pastoral care "of the young on the basis of Holy Baptism.

(6) "The restoration of the Holy Communion to its right place "in relation to the worship of the Church, and to the spiritual life "of the baptized.

(7) "The revival of Daily Service wherever practicable.

(8) "The observance in its main features of the Christian Year.

(9) "The encouragement where practicable of free and open "churches.

(10) "The advancement of a higher spiritual life among the clergy.

(11) "The restoration of more careful pastoral discipline of "clergy and laity.

(12) "The deepening in the laity of a due sense of their priest-"hood, and the encouraging them to fulfil their calling in the "worship and work of the Church.

(13) "The promotion of right methods for the pastoral training "of candidates for the Holy Ministry.

(14) "The promotion of evangelistic work on Church lines.

(15) "The placing on a right basis of the financial support of the "Church through systematic giving, and the restoration of the "weekly offering to its proper place in thought and worship.

(16) "The better fulfilment by the Church of her duties in re-"gard to education and the care of the poor.

(17) "The consideration of social problems with a view to their "adjustment on a basis of Christian justice and brotherhood.

(18) "The maintenance of the law of the Church in regard to "Marriage.

(19) "The maintenance of the Scriptural view (as held by the "Reformers and early Assemblies) as to the heinousness of the sin "of sacrilege.

(20) "The reverent care and seemly ordering of churches and "churchyards, and the preservation of ancient ecclesiastical "monuments.

(21) "The deepening of a penitential sense of the sin and peril "of schism.

(22) "The furtherance of Catholic unity in every way consistent "with true loyalty to the Church of Scotland."

This will shew you how fully we accept High Church doctrine in regard, alike, to what Canon Liddon called "the great ante-"cedent position of the *ἐν σῶμα*"—the Church as the Body of CHRIST extended into place and time; and of the Sacraments as the outward and ordinary means whereby CHRIST and the benefits of the covenant of grace are represented, sealed, and applied to believers. It is thus that I answer a question put to me, by one of your Society, in a letter to Mr. Thoyts this morning—What I make of Romans xv. 16? (*That I should be a minister of Christ.*) i.e., *λειτουργὸν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς τὰ ἔθνη ἱερουγοῦντα τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Θεοῦ ἵνα γένηται ἡ προσφορὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν εὐσπρόδεκτος ἡγιασμένη ἐν πνευματι ἁγίῳ*)? I accept it as it stands. I own and teach the sacrificial aspect of all Christian worship, and especially of its central rite, the Holy Eucharist, even as I do the Reality of CHRIST's Presence there to feed His people with the Spiritual Food of His Body and Blood. The sacramental doctrine of Scripture, and its hints as to the sacerdotal[1] character of the Ministry are as welcome to us as they are to you.

But besides the call to witness with more incisciveness by word and deed to those fundamental truths of the Gospel, there was (as I have indicated) another cause which impelled us to unite in a Society. There was the policy of Pan-Presbyterianism, which many of our leaders were urging on our Church. They spoke indeed only of a union with the separated Presbyterians *of Scotland;* but they ignored two facts of prime importance. First, that even if we are to look to Scotland only, and have eyes for nothing

[1] In the true sense of that word, whereby we understand that the ministers of CHRIST are the appointed ministers and instruments of Him Who *is with us alway even to the end of the world, Who abideth a priest continually* (S. Matt. xxviii.; Hebrews vii. 3, 16), and in that capacity is both *merciful* and *faithful.* The priesthood of the clergy is not inconsistent with the priesthood of all Christians. Rather the priestly body, like its High-Priestly HEAD, uses priestly hands for its more solemn functions. Ministers are neither the rivals, nor the lords of the Christian body. They are, in Dr. Milligan's happy phrase, "the servants of the priesthood." See his letter written from his death-bed, *Scottish Church Society Conferences*, First Series, p. 10.

beyond its boundaries, there is *the Scottish Episcopal Church*, which, though small in numbers, is (or might be) great in influence, and without which it would be impossible to have a Church national in the sense that it would embrace all ranks and classes of the people: a Church, moreover, which in the last century received no sort of political justice; which represents a notable and historic minority; and which in the present day grows while the separated Presbyterian bodies—the Free Church and the United Presbyterians—wane. We hold that the Established Church is bound to hold out hands to this Church, as well as to the Presbyterians. Second, our leaders in urging Pan-Presbyterianism, forgot the close bands which already knit the Free Church and the United Presbyterians to Dissent, and to political Dissent, in England and elsewhere outside Scotland.

We, on the other hand, feel indeed our duty to those who so lately left us; but we have no love for Pan-Presbyterianism. Speaking for myself, I may say at once that I am a Presbyterian, not from any special love for that form of Church government, but because the Church of Scotland is Presbyterian. My anxiety is only how our National Church may accomplish with the greatest faithfulness and efficiency the mission which our LORD has given her. I look at things from this point of view. Pan-Presbyterianism would give to our ancient National Church simply a place in a federation of bodies, many of which are themselves in schism from the lawful Churches of their own land. A league of such bodies could be no healing of the breaches of GOD'S Zion. Rather it would make those breaches wider. For it would erect the Presbyterian form of Church government (which in our view is a mere "method of marshalling presbyters"—a matter within the competence of each National Church to decide for itself) into a distinctive principle, a *reason* for difference, almost a matter of faith. Already we could hear people who should know better, speaking of "the Presbyterian Church"—as if any such entity existed! It does not exist.[1] Some branches of the Church, our

[1] It exists, of course, in the sense in which "The Episcopal Church" exists. But the true distinction of the various branches of the Church, and the only one recognized in Scripture, is that of the place or nation to which they are severally commis-

own among the number, happen at present to be Presbyterian in their government and discipline; but an union of these branches on the ground of their common acceptance of this discipline (whatever be its merits) would only be the constitution of a new sect—a sect whose size and wealth would make it formidable—a sect which, alike in the West and in the East, in England and in Spain, in Greece and Russia, in America and Syria and Egypt, would too probably be an active agent of schism, if not a propaganda of heresy.

Hitherto our Church (at least since that disastrous alliance with your English Puritans in the Great Rebellion, which cost us so dear) has made no attempt to proselytize from other National Churches. Our few churches in England are for Scotsmen there, like your Continental chaplaincies; their ministers are not in communion with the body now calling itself "The Presbyterian Church of England." We have no missions either to Roman Catholics or to Orientals. And we object to our Church having anything to do with an alliance which would be a departure on the largest possible scale from the principle on which we have hitherto acted.

Still further, if High Church (or, as we prefer to call them, Catholic) principles have had a fight for it in our own communion, we have no great desire to get swamped in an alliance with bodies which, though still calling themselves Presbyterian, have really adopted many of the principles of Independency. Perhaps this fear is unworthy: *magna est veritas et prævalebit.*

For the present, the Disestablishment crusade is putting a stop among us to *the inclination* for a purely Presbyterian reunion. For the dissenting Presbyterians of Scotland,[1] allied as they are with your English Disestablishers, insist on Disestablishment in Scotland as a necessary preliminary to *any* consideration of the ques-

sioned. For a Church to acknowledge that, is to mark and discern her special duty; whereas to make herself a witness for this or that form of Church government or worship is to make herself the guardian of a *part* of the truth (if it be so much) instead of the whole truth; and, very likely, to exaggerate (and so distort) that part!

[1] At least as represented by the overwhelming majority of their General Assembly and Synod.

tion of reunion with them; and our whole Church is opposed both to Disestablishment and Disendowment either in Scotland or in Wales. The former would be to us a CHRIST-dishonouring withdrawal of the public homage which a Christian nation owes to the great King and Head of the Church; the other must involve a repetition of the sacrilege which in both countries followed the Reformation of the sixteenth century. The noble attitude (on the whole) of the Scottish Episcopal Church, which has so much to gain from Disestablishment in Scotland, but prefers principle to gain, is finding its reward in a turning of the hearts toward her of many who have hitherto looked on her with suspicion and ill-will. The Scottish Episcopal Church has much in its power at present, if only she, and we, have wisdom to know the time of our visitation, and grace to use it. Nor do I hesitate to say, speaking for myself, that union with you and with her on lines which Catholics could accept, and which would yet conserve much that is valuable in itself as well as dear to the vast majority of the Scottish people, is my heart's desire and prayer to GOD.

The advantages of a Liturgy, especially for the Administration of Sacraments, &c., would (I dare say) be admitted, were we sure that we might retain the use at proper times of free prayer. We need superintendents, and would probably be ready to accept bishops, on the same terms as in 1610; but we wish also to maintain the due rights of the presbyterate. We feel the misery of our division from brethren to whom we owe so much and with whom we are so nearly of one mind in the LORD. We wish to have fellowship with you in all the rich gifts and mighty works which GOD has been doing by your means. Many of us, for years, have prayed daily for Catholic reunion: we have pleaded for it the Sacrifice of CHRIST at His Holy Table. Somewhat to our surprise (if not also to its own), the last General Assembly enjoined all ministers every Sunday in their public prayers to make intercession for the unity of the whole Church of CHRIST.

Have we, then, made any overtures for union? Not yet. And I do not think that the time has quite come for it. We are not ready to discuss any scheme. But we have been approximating in many ways, both in worship and doctrine. The need, which is now

passing into a cry, for more effectual superintendence of ministers, begins to lead folks to ask, Why not have bishops at once? The introduction among us of instrumental music, of read prayers, of improved Church architecture, of the observance of the Christian Year, of Deaconesses, of Mission Weeks, of Retreats, of more frequent Celebrations of Holy Communion, are all helping in the same direction. Besides their inherent usefulness, they break down barriers to reunion, they witness to a growing harmony of feeling and belief, and they make men desire unity. If that desire grows (as please GOD it will) the healing of the breach is certain.[1] For the root and sinfulness of schism is in alienated hearts, and when that alienation ceases, peace will come. Here, as elsewhere, where there is a will there is a way.

Meanwhile our duty in the Scottish Church Society seems clear. Acknowledging, on the one hand, with thankfulness how much Almighty GOD has left to us, and is giving us to see restored: confessing, on the other hand, with penitence how much is wanting: doing what we can in the place and station in which He has set us, contending earnestly for the Faith which was once delivered to the saints, thinking on whatsoever things are true, lovely, and of good report, speaking the truth in love, seeking peace and ensuing it, our call is to go on enriching our National Church and making it more worthy of its calling.

This is what we have been endeavouring to do: always with the hope of reunion; yet knowing that so great a blessing must be prepared for on both sides.

The great difficulty is, of course, the question of the Episcopate. Not that we expect for a moment that the Church of CHRIST can ever be united except under the Historical Episcopate. The question is, how we are to get the Historical Episcopate? We got it

[1] Of course I do not mean that the healing shall be effected by an absolute and unconditional surrender of all our Scottish ways to the ways of the Church of England. Anglicans may have something to get from us, as well as we from them. Neither can any truth of GOD'S Word be compromised. It is not by the compromise of principle, but by the *combination* of the good points of our respective systems that a satisfactory and lasting settlement can be obtained. But to be ready even to discuss the question our hearts must be sanctified and our wills enabled by the grace of the HOLY GHOST, sought in earnest supplication.

once before, in 1610, in a way in which if it were offered to us now (free as it would now be from that Erastian element which then infected it) we would be ready, I venture to hope, to accept it. A very distinguished Anglican divine, Bishop Charles Wordsworth, of S. Andrews, who lived in Scotland and laboured through life to prepare the way for reunion, became convinced that such a settlement would be legitimate. Let me commend that settlement to your closer study.[1] I do not know whether you in England would regard such a settlement as admissible. But in 1610 Andrewes joined in it, after raising difficulties and accepting Abbot's answer in reply. And when that settlement was made, it gave us in Scotland the best twenty-seven years in the whole course of our ecclesiastical history—the years when our Church's godly discipline was exercised most faithfully; when the long course of sacrilege and dilapidation was arrested; when theological learning produced among us its richest fruits in the writings of such men as John and William Forbes; when our Services were resuming something of their dignity; and such Catholic practices as Confirmation, and the observance of Fast and Festival, were steadily coming in.

But the unity of Faith is of even greater importance than the unity of discipline. And it is precisely here that the preparation is, on our side, going on most actively. You will find the witness, if you care to look for it, in the three volumes we have lately published of the two "Conferences" of our Society. In these you will see how far we have come already; and if you remember what happened in the Oxford Movement, you will not fail to note the significant coincidence that our first "tract," which has assumed the proportions of a treatise, is one affirming and defending the doctrine of Regeneration in Holy Baptism.

By one Spirit we were all baptized into One Body. May He Who set us there enable us to realize and to fulfil in the strength

[1] Its history should be read in the narrative of Spottiswood, the Archbishop of S. Andrews. *Spottiswood*, Vol. III., 208, 209. Compare Grub, *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, II., 296.

of the ONE HEAD the duty He has assigned to each: so that the Body may be compacted by that which every joint supplieth. Amen.

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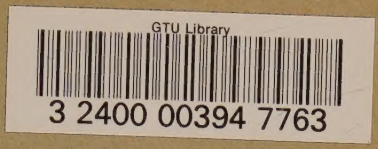

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